

/69 cont./

276 in his mouth and light. The smoke was inhaled. They even smoked my heavy black tobacco in the same manner and in the same size, and they tolerated it without difficulty, although theirs was light as straw.

517 Not a sound came from the houses; the plaiting had been pushed in front of the entrance. Were the women not lying awake in the hammocks? The two araras, who during the day were in the habit of cawing from the roof poles, were asleep on a partly withered palm. No insects were annoying us. For two or three hours we sat under the star-studded dome of the heavens, surrounded all around by the dark mass of the woods. The smallest cloud that rose anywhere was observed and became the subject of a discussion about where from and where to. As soon as an animal sound became audible in the woods, everyone would be silent for a moment, waiting to see whether it was repeated, and then they would whisper to each other "a tapir," "an armadillo," or the like, while one man half mechanically whistled in imitation of the animal cry. There was also no lack of in-

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514) voluntary sounds. Sucking sounds with saliva, belching, or breaking wind was not restrained. Bakairi sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto. But the moment someone behaved too badly, there immediately followed, as a direct reflex movement of all the colleagues, a brief violent spitting to one side, without an interruption in the conversation. To be sure, if there were a repetition, Tumaysua or Paleko would mutter something that seemed to mean, "Confound it, we have a guest, after all," and the culprit would lose himself in the shadows six paces away. It was very patriarchal.

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829 We discussed in detail the subject most important for me, the geography of the Kulisehu. The river was drawn in the sand, the tribes were enumerated and designated with maize kernels. Thus I gradually learned to understand the correct relationship of the Kulisehu and Kulüne and learned that the main body of the Nahuqai tribes, each of which was designated by a special name, lived on the Kulüne. All people were either good, 829
517 "hira," or bad, "hufpa." The distinction was made chiefly,

/69 cont./

as I noted to my astonishment, according to the extent of the hospitality that they offered; to be "kúra" meant not to let there be any lack of beijús and püserego, the flat cakes and the best paste-drink made of mandioca, at the reception. As far as the Nahuquá and possibly also the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ were concerned, it was the same information, based in part on experience, in part on hearsay, which is regarded as the most important for our autumn journeys: good and bad hotels.

But what a difference between a printed Baedeker and this gesticulation, this sound-painting, this relentless creeping from one halting-place to another in the enumeration of stations! From where we are to the second Bakaírf /70/ village one day's journey, from the second to the third two, and so on -- no, one did not race madly along like that in the good old days that I was experiencing here. First one sits down in the canoe, "pépi," and rows, rows, "pépi, pépi, pépi" -- one rows with paddles, dipping right and left, and one comes to rapids, bububu... How high it drops: with each bu, bu, the hand goes one step down from the top, and how frightened the women are and cry: "pekóto áh, áh, áh...!" At this spot the pépi -- a vigorous step toward the ground -- must be pushed forward through rocks, with what groaning, and the "mayáku," the carrying baskets, laboriously -- the left shoulder is tapped one, two, three times -- carried overland. But one climbs in again and rows, pépi, pépi, pépi. Far, far -- the voice soars ih....., so far ih....., and the mouth, pointed like a snout, while the head is convulsively bent back at the nape, shows in what direction of the compass ih...... Over this the sun sinks: the hand, outstretched as far as possible, reaches toward the west, describing an arc, and aims at the point in the sky where the sun will be standing when one -- lah.....á -- enters the harbor. Here we shall be among the: "Bakaírf, Bakaírf, Bakaírf!" "Kúra, kúra!" and here we shall be well received. Perhaps one has also passed a place where there is good fishing, where "matrinchams" or "piranyas" are to be shot: whereas otherwise words have the accent on the penultimate syllable,

/330 cont./

CCD Their methods. To die in narcois. The medicine man in heaven.
Tobacco. Conjuraton of the weather.

I.

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The boundaries between the regions of the tribes are natural ones. "This brook belongs to the neighboring tribe," we were regularly informed along the way. The one bank of the Kulisebu, for example, belonged to the Nahuquá, the other to the Mehinaké [226] /Mehinacu/. Fishing with bow and arrow on the river was open to everyone.

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[622]

The plantings were common property. Everyone had his personal property in the house, even the women, who, we saw, often objected to having it given to us; it was handed down to one's children, sons and daughters. We often observed, however, that persons to whom we had given beads, etc. were obliged to hand them over to the chief.

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The power of the chief was not great. In all the larger villages there were several chiefs who lived in different houses; in dealings with us, there was always only one who appeared as representative. "Representation" was the most important obligation during peacetime. The chief directed the business connected with planting, he saw to it that the necessary supply of flour was put away, he had the beijús baked and the drinks prepared for all festive occasions and for the visits of strangers. He was apparently a family-father in greater style, but could not be very thrifty if he was concerned about the esteem of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his neighboring tribesmen. Thus, the chief of the first Batovy village was "kurápa," bad - stingy. He had only a few beijús baked for the guests. Stinginess is regarded as the ugliest trait. This type of rule must be difficult, however. Antonio told me about a certain João Cadete in the Paranatinga village, who was in line to become chief, but preferred to emigrate "com medo de tratar gente," for fear of having to entertain people, [621] /331/ so Felipe took his place. If the community is dissatisfied [626] with its chief, it knows a remedy: it breaks away from him and simply moves to another place. The office is hereditary, hence

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*171 Bakairi translated the Portuguese word comprar, "to buy," as
 437 yekadile, "to sit down." Trade is therefore still an exchange of
 hospitable gifts. But this has its origin only in the level of culture,

*171 not in nobility of character. The Indian is not at all hospitable
 574 in the sense that he feels greatly honored by the visit and feels
 871 absolutely obliged to entertain lavishly with beijis and drinks.

For this effort he would certainly like a reciprocal one; he soon
 becomes impatient if the guest is staying only because living is
 cheap, and he frankly asks him to leave the village. It is even
 reported in the Bakairi legends, along with the invention of the
 dance, that the people who were invited and entertained had given
 gifts of arrows and string. Our travel companions undoubtedly
 offered us fish en route /334/ only when they themselves were
 satisfied, and it was not the best beijis which they left for us.

(L) The endless talk among themselves as to whether this or that
 tribe was "kira" clearly shows that they were only naively hos-
 pitable; there was always the greatest gratification when we de-
 clared a tribe to be "kuripa," because this meant that for our part
 we had done less business with that one. They praised themselves
 far too much for the recipient to be able to believe in the pure
 virtue of the unselfish savage.

*171 Our matter-of-fact, businesslike way of exchanging one ob-
 123 ject for another was at first completely new to all the tribes.

437 They quickly learned, however. Nevertheless, the funniest
 enormities occurred. One man gathered up a handful of mangabas
 and then impetuously demanded a large knife. One wanted to
 have beads in exchange for the bandaging of his hand. Only if
 it were explained to them that one had but a single specimen of
 an object was one not bothered further.

*171 Names. The son, soon after birth, is given the name of the
 55 grandfather, uncle, or an ancestor, not that of the father. The
 93 names among the Bakairi are animal names in part, but I believe
 only a small part. The following are the only ones whose mean-
 ing I understand: Luchu, for example, is a water snake; the
 native name of Chief Reginaldo on the Rio Novo was irina =
 cayman; an old man in Igueti was named pone = black piranha.